

NEW YORK HERALD

BROADWAY AND ANN STREET.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT,
PROPRIETOR.

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AMUSEMENTS THIS EVENING.

FIFTH AVENUE THEATRE. Twenty-fourth street.—
THE NEW DRAMA OF DIVORCE.WALLACE'S THEATRE. Broadway and 12th street.—
BLUE BEANS.OLYMPIC THEATRE. Broadway.—THE BALLET FAN-
TASIE OF HUMPHY DUMPHY.BOOTH'S THEATRE. 23d st., between 5th and 6th ave.—
THE LITTLE DETECTIVE.WOODS' MUSIUM. Broadway, corner 30th st.—Perform-
ances afternoon and evening.—LEAD, THE FORKMAN.BOWERY THEATRE. Bowery.—BENTON, THE NEWING
MACHINE GILL.NIRLO'S GARDEN. Broadway, between Prince and
Houston sts.—CABE, THE FIDDLER.GRAND OPERA HOUSE, corner of 30th ave. and 33d st.—
COTY GOVT.STADI THEATRE, 45 and 47 Bowery.—THE PORTLION
OF LONDURRA.GLOBE THEATRE, 725 Broadway.—NEGRO ECCESTRI-
CITIES, BURLINGUE, &c.LINA EDWIN'S THEATRE. No. 720 Broadway.—KELLY
& LON'S MINSTRELS.UNION SQUARE THEATRE, corner of Fourteenth street
and Broadway.—NEGRO ACTS—BURLINGUE, HALL, &c.SAN FRANCISCO MINSTREL HALL, 585 Broadway.—
THE SAN FRANCISCO MINSTRELS.BRYANT'S NEW OPERA HOUSE, 23d st., between 6th
and 7th ave.—BENTON'S MINSTRELS.TONY PASTOR'S OPERA HOUSE, No. 20 Bowery.—
NEGRO ECCESTRI-CITIES, BURLINGUE, &c. Matinee at 2:30.STEINWAY HALL, Fourteenth street.—VOCAL AND
INSTRUMENTAL CONCERT.TWENTY-EIGHTH STREET OPERA HOUSE, corner
Broadway.—NEWCOMB & ARLINGTON'S MINSTRELS.CENTRAL PARK GARDEN.—THEODORUS THOMAS'
SUMMER NIGHTS' CONCERTS.GLOBE THEATRE, Brooklyn, opposite City Hall.—VA-
RIETY ENTERTAINMENT.AMERICAN INSTITUTE EXHIBITION, Third and 6th
and 6th and 7th streets.—Open day and evening.

TRIPLE SHEET.

New York, Tuesday, September 19, 1871.

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Who is MAYOR of this city, Hall or
Havemeyer?

SENATORS SUMNER AND WILSON both de-
clare that the nomination of General Butler
to the Governorship of Massachusetts would
be a "disgrace" and of the Commonwealth.

THE WALL STREET USURERS.—Yesterday
leaders of gold exacted a consideration at the
rate of thirty per cent. per annum for the use
of the coin for one day. Here is a chance for
the District Attorney and Grand Jury, who,
after the charge of Judge Bedford the other
day, are now responsible for the enforcement
of the law.

Who is MAYOR of the city, Oakey Hall or
Havemeyer? Are we to have law or anarchy
in New York?

THE POLITICIANS who are using the city
difficulties to get into office themselves affect
to be satisfied with Connolly's appointment of
Deputy Green and his retirement in favor of
that gentleman. But do they remember their
own favorite name for the Comptroller,
"Slippery Dick"? Do they know how soon
Connolly, after having trapped them, may
resume the active duties of his office, turn out
Green and slip out of their fingers?

If THERE is to be no governing head in this
city it will be like a rudderless ship at sea
without chart or charter.

JOHN FOLEY has become a great man. He
has made his mark by his intrepid raid on the
Ring. To him belongs the credit of enjoining
the Ring. He had the pluck to begin the legal
fight which resulted in fracturing the Ring in
two of its strongest points. No doubt John
has been honest in his acts—impelled by
pure motives of reform. But is he now pre-
pared to enter the new ring combination of the
"outs"? Will he throw his prestige into the
scale against law and order, and side with
Slippery Dick, whom so recently he denounced
as the head and front of municipal corrup-
tion? What has honest John to say?

THE YELLOW FEVER has broken out in
Key West, and consternation is said to have
seized upon the citizens.

LATEST FROM CHIEF JUSTICE CHASE.—We
publish an interesting account of a recent
interview with Chief Justice Chase held with
a correspondent of the Cincinnati Enquirer
at Waukesha, Wis., on the 11th instant. The
friends of the venerable Chief Justice will
be gratified to learn that he has entirely re-
covered his health, and that he will probably
resume his seat on the Supreme Bench at the
October term. In his political views he en-
dorses the platform of the Wisconsin democ-
racy, says the democrats have taken no new
departure, and that the change is simply a
return to the principles of democracy as ad-
vocated by the great founders of the party.

WHILE THE QUESTION is raised whether
McClellan or Green is to be Comptroller of the
finances there ought to be no doubt that
Mayor Hall is the chief controller of the city.

THERE ARE PEOPLE in the city who are
urging Connolly on to a violation of the law
and of the peace of the city. Let them re-
member the 12th of July and the pluck of
General Fisk.

The Tammany Entanglement and its
Bearings Upon the Approaching Presi-
dential Contest.

As a great central political power in State
and national affairs Tammany Hall is under a
gloomy eclipse, and the prestige and the
glory of the Wigwam have departed. It was
but yesterday that Tammany, like Caesar,
seemed strong enough to stand against the
world; and now there are none so poor to do
her reverence. She was the impregnable
citadel and base of operations of the democ-
ratic party of the city, the State and the
Union; but she is the stumbling block to the
party in the city, in the State and throughout
the country. The astounding and unanswered
accusations raised against her, of fraudulent
appropriations of the public funds, have
operated to weaken the democracy in the late
elections in Maine and California, and will
doubtless operate to strengthen the republic-
ans in the coming October elections in Penn-
sylvania and Ohio, and will almost certainly
revolutionize the Legislature of New York in
November. In the midst of a profound peace,
a comparatively dead calm in our political
affairs, a catastrophe has fallen upon the
democratic party threatening to be more
disastrous in its consequences, looking to the
Presidential succession, than any misfortune
since the breaking up of the party in the
Charleston Convention—that dismal overture
to the Southern rebellion.

Since 1867, when the wrangling republicans
deliberately delivered this State over to the
democracy by nearly fifty thousand majority,
the republican party has never sufficiently ral-
lied to recover it. They made a vigorous
effort in 1868, through which they secured the
Legislature and thereby a United States Sena-
tor (Fenton); but that was all. In all our
subsequent elections the democrats, through
the management of Tammany, gained ground,
till with the Legislature of last winter they
secured complete possession of the State in all
its departments. The Tammany chiefs,
availing themselves of the enlarged facilities
thus offered them in the reconstruction of our
city government, so hedged about their new
administration with powers, privileges and
safeguards that it was supposed, even by their
adversaries, that "the ring" could hardly be
broken or dislodged from city or State for
twenty years to come. But it frequently hap-
pens that, in the plenitude of their power and
fancied security, and when least expected,
empires, dynasties and political parties, from
some fatal mistake or series of blunders, are
undermined and overthrown. Thus fell the
splendid empire of Napoleon the Third; thus
our democratic party, imagined to be all-pow-
erful in the overwhelming election of Pierce,
began to fall to pieces under the blunders of
his administration. Thus, too, from the fatal
mistakes of Tammany in the estimates of her
power and her security, she is suddenly
stricken down, and her weakness to-day is as
much a marvel to the quiet, easy-going citizen
as was her imposing strength of yesterday.

The prestige of Tammany is gone. The
chiefs of the rural democracy are arrayed
against her, and within the metropolis she is a
house divided against itself. The tremendous
democratic army which from year to year has
followed to the polls in this city the victorious
ensign of Tammany is broken up, and between
Tammany and the republican party even this
hitherto strong citadel of democracy, in a
popular vote this day, would doubtless be
prospected that, in the short interval to our
November election, the democratic party of
the State, demoralized and disorganized in
this Tammany entanglement, can be put in a
position to avoid a decisive defeat in the elec-
tions for the Legislature. In truth, while
there is no ground for any hope of democratic
harmony in this State election, there are good
reasons, in the existing intense excitements
and disordered condition of things in this city,
to fear that the elements of a sanguinary riot
are in process of formation here, which, in
bringing anarchy upon the city, may throw
the whole democratic party of the State and
of the United States into the chaos of dissolu-
tion.

How uncertain and capricious are the revo-
lutions of the whirligig of party politics! The
Orange procession and riot of July last
brought out the powerful Irish element of the
democratic party of this city in favor of Mayor
Hall and in opposition to Governor Hoffman.
Now we find, from another turn of the wheel,
the Irish element of the party arrayed against
the Mayor and in favor of Mr. Connolly. Mr.
Green and the mixed Committee of
Seventy, while the solid German Americans
of the city are quietly watching and waiting
the opportunity to bring up their reserves for
municipal reform. These complications serve
only to increase the demoralization of the
democracy and to strengthen the republican
party here and throughout the Union; for
these Tammany disclosures of wastefulness,
extravagance, negligence and corruptions,
looking to the Presidential succession, have
operated and are operating, by contrast, to
rally the people around General Grant's ad-
ministration. But in this division of the New
York city democracy between Mayor Hall and
Mr. Connolly—which is a division between
the American and the Irish-American ele-
ments of the party—we have the break in the
ranks which opens the city itself to the repub-
licans; for it is a break which not only
disarms Tammany as a political centre of
power, but the Irish-American element as a
political balance of power.

Here, then, as in the settlement of the
slavery question and the question of the civil
and political rights of the African race in this
country, we have the simplest solution of the
most difficult political problems. Tammany,
in being divided against herself, divides the
democracy of the city into two or three bodies of
men arrayed against each other, and thus the
cohesion of our Irish and German born citi-
zens with "the ring" is broken, and these de-
tached elements are free to take their own
course now and hereafter, and the city of New
York is open for a reconstruction of our politi-
cal parties. The confusion thus created in the
democratic camp is evidently the beginning
of a political revolution in the city and the
State; and the first decisive revolutionary
consequence, we expect, will be the election
of a Legislature republican in both branches
in November. We dare say, too, that this
coming Legislature will be so expressive of the
dominant public sentiment of the State under
the circumstances that, with the consent of

Governor Hoffman, a republican reorganiza-
tion of our city government will speedily
follow.

But as the late government of the republi-
cans here, with its independent and irrespon-
sible commissions, was a failure, we have no
very sanguine hopes of any great improve-
ment in our municipal affairs under another
republican experiment. "Where the carcass
is there will the vultures be gathered to-
gether," by whatever name you call them.
But Tammany has overdone her appointed
task, and the temper of the public mind is now
"anything for a change." So the State of
New York, in our judgment, will be lost to the
democratic party in November, and, with New
York gone, with all the attendant demoraliza-
tions of the party, what hope will there be
for the democracy in the coming Presidential
contest? Apparently no hope whatever except
the unsubstantial hope of Micawber, that
"something may turn up." And something
may turn up. The leading active and pro-
gressive democrats of the United States may,
from the overthrow of the power and prestige
of Tammany, realize the necessity of still
another "new departure" in the shape of a
new organization for the Presidency from
stem to stern, and a new platform, cutting
loose this new party from all the dead leaders,
dead men, dead issues and defunct associa-
tions of the past.

From the shape that this Tammany imbrog-
lio has now assumed, and from the general
drift of the public opinion of the country
against the democratic party identified with
Tammany, as it now stands, only in some such
new departure as this can there be any
respectable fight made against the re-election
of General Grant. On the other hand, in the
new departure of a new party organization
there is still time enough for action, and there
are still floating materials enough from which,
with the debris of the democratic party, to
form a powerful opposition party for 1872.
The Democratic Union party might do for a
name, and the principles suggested by Chief
Justice Chase, with the Chief Justice or some
such universally acceptable man as standard
bearer, would serve very well for the initial
platform of this new party movement. Other-
wise General Grant will walk over the course
in 1872, and a scrub race will inaugurate a
new organization of parties in 1876.

The Situation in the City—What Is to
Be the Next Step?

The situation in the great municipal contest
has not undergone much change since yester-
day morning. As was generally anticipated,
Mr. Connolly refused to yield possession of the
Comptroller's office, stating that he had not
in fact or equivalent resigned his position and
denying the authority in law of the
Mayor to remove him. Mayor Hall, on his
part, officially notified the other city depart-
ments that he does not recognize either Con-
nolly as Comptroller or Green as Deputy
Comptroller. General McClellan, to whom
the Comptrollership was tendered by the
Mayor, is understood to have signified his
readiness to undertake its duties and responsi-
bilities in the event of the retirement or
expulsion of Connolly from the office, while
he declines to become a contestant for the
place so long as possession is disputed by the
incumbent. No application was made yester-
day to the Courts in relation to the matter by
any party, and Mr. Green's duties of
the Comptrollership, from which Connolly has
virtually, if not actually, retired. There is,
of course, a deadlock in the municipal govern-
ment, and an uneasy feeling is abroad that the
complications among the politicians may lead
to riotous demonstrations and probably to
actual collisions.

The immediate interest turns now upon the
two legal points, first, as to the power of the
Mayor to remove Connolly without impeach-
ment; and, secondly, whether Connolly's pub-
lic abandonment of the duties of the Comptrol-
lership in favor of Mr. Green consti-
tutes a resignation of his office. Mayor
Hall is backed up in his position by the
legal adviser of the city, and it is rumored,
by the Attorney General of the State, while
the Connolly party present an opinion
on the other side from Charles O'Connor.
The latter holds, first, that the Mayor
has no power to remove the Comptrol-
ler, the only mode expressly provided
under the charter for such removal being
impeachment; and secondly, that the action
of the Comptroller, in turning over all the
powers and duties of his office to Andrew H.
Green, does not amount to a renunciation or
resignation of his office. While Mr. O'Connor's
legal reputation stands deservedly high, it
must be remembered that his opinion is
but the opinion of a single lawyer and
is only entitled to so much weight.
Besides, the "looseness" of these legal opin-
ions is proverbial. The amended charter
certainly provides that the Deputy Comptrol-
ler shall "possess every power and per-
form all and every duty belonging to the
office of Comptroller whenever the said Comptrol-
ler shall be by due written authority, and
during a period to be specified in such author-
ity, designate and authorize the said
Deputy Comptroller to possess the power and
perform the duty aforesaid." But this
provision was unquestionably made in the in-
terest of the city and not to its injury. Its
intention was to prevent the stoppage or em-
barrassment of the city government in case
of the necessary or unavoidable absence
of the Comptroller. It could never have
contemplated giving the Comptroller
the power to transfer the duties
of his office, which he is sworn to faithfully
perform, to another party during his whole
term, and to continue to still hold the nominal
authority and to enjoy the emoluments him-
self. Yet if the Comptroller can do this for
five months why not for five years? Mr.
O'Connor in his opinion says:—

"The appointment of a deputy in precise
conformity with the letter of the statute and in ex-
ecution of its obvious intent cannot be a renunciation
or resignation of his office by the Comptroller. It is
simply the performance of a duty required by law
whenever necessity or expediency may require it.
The necessity or expediency of the step is submitted
to the discretion of the Comptroller exclusively. I
cannot suppose that any jurist can be found who
will think otherwise."

This is not the point really at issue. It
is not the appointment of a deputy, but the pub-
lic renunciation and relinquishment of all the
functions of the Comptroller in favor of that
deputy for five months, that is held to have
been a resignation on the part of Connolly.
The "obvious intent" of the statute

was to enable the Comptroller during
illness or unavoidable or necessary absence
from his duties, to empower his deputy
to fill his place, so that the machinery of the
government might go on, and not to authorize
him to withdraw from the duties and responsi-
bilities of his office and virtually appoint his
successor.

The disputed points will, no doubt, go to
the Courts and be decided there. It is prob-
able that Mayor Hall may appoint another
successor to Connolly, now that General
McClellan has declined to contest the office,
and in that event an application will no doubt
be made to a judge for legal authority
to take possession of the office. In the
meantime we are informed that
Acting Comptroller Green has handed
over to the investigating committee several
papers belonging to the department. We are
assured by the organs prompted by Connolly
that these papers expose gross corruption and
peculation on the part of Messrs. Sweeney and
Hall, and that these revelations will startle
the community. It is fortunate that this
much good has been accomplished, and we
are glad that Mr. Green has had an oppor-
tunity to obtain and secure these papers. Let
us have the disclosures they are officially an-
nounced to contain. If, as Connolly declares,
they implicate his late associates, Sweeney and
Hall, in frauds such as he himself stands
branded with, we shall insist upon their
removal from the offices they now fill.
And we give notice that we shall not patiently
suffer them to appoint friendly deputies, to
transfer their active official duties to these
subordinates and to screen themselves from
punishment and public odium behind the skirts
of political confederates.

Have We a Commune in New York?
How Bad Precedents May Work Evil—
What We Expect from Mayor Hall
and Judge Barnard.

There is one view to be taken of the present
complications in Tammany Hall that seems
to us to shed a new light upon the movements
of what is called the Reform Committee. Are
we not about to introduce under a peaceful
guise the reign of the Commune, as we saw it
in Paris, with perhaps consequences as disas-
trous as were ever seen in the Commune in its
wildest days?

We have a government. However debased
or foolish its administration may be, what-
ever may have been done in the way of
corruption or violation of public trusts, this
government represents the will of the people
of New York. It raises taxes, makes public
improvements, looks after the health, happi-
ness and welfare of the city, and from
decade to decade it has advanced our mun-
icipal prosperity from stage to stage until
we have a metropolis rivaling in wealth and
splendor the renowned cities of the Old World.
We have had republican Mayors and democ-
ratic Mayors, Mayors who were neither
democratic nor republican, but the choice of
rings and factions of the great parties, sud-
denly blossoming into power and as soon
fading out of sight, like the gourd which came
up in a night and passed away like a vision.
There have been violations of the representa-
tive spirit—boards and commissions and ar-
tificial efforts to wrest the power of the people
from the people. In the end, however, the
old ship has always swung back to her
anchorage, and our prosperous
and gentle seas.

Now there comes a gathering of law-
yers and merchants, rich, ambitious and
craving political distinction. Time after
time these men have striven for the
control of the great city. Money has been raised
and spent, and we have had all the machinery
of suspicious and dangerous partisanship.
Every shape has been assumed and every
political fancy has been conjured into life.
The names they have taken from time to time
would form a curious chapter of political arch-
eology. Mozart and McKoon, Tammany and
Anti-Tammany, Whig and Republican, Rad-
ical and Conservative, Democratic Union and
Young Democracy, Know Nothing and Native
American, Temperance and Citizens' Associa-
tion—new names for one purpose—only
meaning power, wealth and ambition. All
these movements, however, have simply meant
one man's success or the success of a party.
They have never gone beyond the law—have
never caused a triumph that was unnatural or
dishonest, or in any way in contradiction of
the established principles of municipal free
government.

Now, for the first time, the straining for
power means a violation of the fundamental
laws of representative government. We see a
body of gentlemen assembling, selecting a
financial officer, making a bargain with a Comptrol-
ler denounced for malfeasance, and with
his aid and assistance giving their candidate
power. Mr. Green is nominated by Mr.
Havemeyer. Mr. Havemeyer is the chairman of
a town meeting. He has no power and no re-
sponsibility. Any citizen may call a meeting,
take the chair, cry "reform," and nominate
whoever he pleases for Comptroller. If he can
find a Comptroller, judicially denounced as an
abettor of "highway robbery" and willing to
bargain for his immunity, or, using the plainer
phrase of our English contemporary, to turn
"State's evidence," he may place his candi-
date in office and give him absolute control of
the financial affairs of a great city. What
Mr. Havemeyer does to-day Mr. Morrissey
may do to-morrow. It is only a question of
opportunity, and if Mr. Connolly or a man
like him can be found in a terrified humor
he will as soon make a bargain with Mr. Mor-
rissey as with the ex-Mayor. The example is
the same. It is full of evil. Like all evil
examples, it threatens danger to free institu-
tions and republican government.

We saw a bolder type of this lawlessness in
Paris. The men in power were the chosen
officers of the republic. Whether the republic
was welcome or not, it was the supreme will
in France, and any other assumed power was
simply usurpation. Well, there was a gather-
ing of men in Paris who had no confidence
in Trochu and Jules Favre and M. Thiers.
There was corruption—imperialism, monarchical
purposes—all manner of offences in their
eyes. To be sure the reply was that these
men—Trochu and Favre and Thiers—were
the chosen ministers of Paris, constitutionally
in office, and, whether for good or evil,
charged with the destinies of the great
city and the great nation. The gather-
ing thought differently. They took up

arms, seized the national cannon, drove the
chosen rulers out of Paris, proclaimed their
own government, erected barricades, took the
nation's money and their fellow citizens'
property, fought pitched battles in the streets
and suburbs, pulled down national monu-
ments and destroyed palaces, the fame of
whose beauty and historical associations filled
the world. And the end only came after
massacres, battles, sieges, universal desola-
tion and horror.

This was the Commune! The world shud-
ders at what was done and the men who
controlled it. Yet they were good men in
various ways. Many of them had honor,
courage, virtue. They thought they had a
cause. So have the men who now in town
meeting and secret caucus propose to over-
throw the city authorities and take possession
of the city. They have honor, courage, vir-
tue. They think they have a good cause.
Mr. Havemeyer is a good man; but he is no
better than Delescluze. Mr. Tilden is a
worthy citizen; but no worthier than Pascal
Grousset. Mr. Green is honored for many
merits; but Mr. Green is no more honorable
than Vermorel and Dombrowski. The editor
of our English contemporary is no better than
Mr. Rochefort; and it would be well for his
shrivelling and dreary newspaper if he had a
sparkle of Rochefort's audacious and inimi-
table genius. It may be said that there
were adventurers in the Commune, like
Cluseret and Felix Pyat; but so there
are adventurers in the New York
party, like Morrissey and O'Brien. What
we contend is that the principles of the Com-
mune and the principles of this Cooper Insti-
tute town meeting and the irresponsible Commit-
tee of Seventy are the same. They are revolu-
tionary. They do violence to our free institu-
tions, to good government. If they are per-
mitted now to obtrude their caucus nomi-
nations into high office by an alliance with men
denounced by the Supreme Court as high-
way robbers, and the chief of whom is, as
such, asked to resign by the Mayor, there is
no reason why in a year or two we might not
have in New York the same terrible scenes
we saw last summer in Paris.

The principle is the same. Evil is evil, let
us call it what we will. We cannot violate
law in the matter of Mr. Green without doing
it in a graver emergency. Mr. Hall is bound
to put his foot upon it or retire from his office
as incapable and unworthy. If he consents
to Mr. Havemeyer and Mr. Connolly dictating
his financial appointments he might as well
resign. He is no longer Mayor. The town
meeting having appointed Mr. Green to-day
may do what it pleases to-morrow. Once
begin Communism and no one can say where
it will end. Fortunately the Mayor has half
solved the problem. He has named his choice
for Comptroller, a choice that will do him honor
throughout the world. It now remains for
the Courts to confirm it. And we underrate
Judge Barnard very much if he does not act
as firmly now as he did when called upon for
justice by Mr. Foley and his friends.

Real and Bogus Reformers—The Schemes
of the Politicians.

The people of New York are to-day reaping
the harvest they have themselves sown
through their carelessness in the discharge
of the duties of citizenship and the indifference
with which they have for years suffered their
municipal affairs to be managed by any
political adventurers who may have had the
boldness and the shrewdness to seize upon
them. The city government is paralyzed, its
wheels are blocked, the business of its most
important departments is at a standstill; and
this disgraceful situation, dangerous to our
peace at home, damaging to our credit
abroad, has been brought about mainly
through the squabbling and scrambling of the
fat politicians who hold office and of the lean
politicians who want office. It has been the
habit of our citizens who live and prosper out-
side the political placer, to indulge periodically
in bewailings over official corruption and in
loud demands for municipal reform; but they
have, nevertheless, suffered primary elections
to be held without taking any part or interest
therein, and they have absented them-
selves from nominating conventions. The
consequence has been that the whole
machinery of party has been left in the hands
of the politicians. The wire-pullers and adven-
turers, who regularly make livings and for-
tunes out of politics, have put themselves or
their friends in nomination for places of trust,
and when election day has come the protesting
citizens have "voiced the ticket" as a matter of
course without regard to the character or
qualifications of the candidates. After elec-
tion and the subsequent distribution of the
spoils malcontents have always been found
who, failing to secure from the successful
party such a share in the pickings and stealings
of office as they believed to be their due,
have led a renewed assault against those in
power, and then, incited by their appeals,
the independent citizens have again and again
gone through with the same programme as
that we have described above, and generally
with the same fruitless result. Occasionally,
indeed, the outsiders have formed combina-
tions powerful enough to overthrow the office-
holders and to put new men in power, pledged,
as a matter of course, to reform the
government, to decrease the taxes and
to put a stop to corruption. But in the
end the party of retrenchment has proved a
costly experiment; the city expenditures have
increased instead of diminished, and the men
who have risen into place upon the ruins of
one set of plunderers have in their turn been
denounced more bitterly than were their pre-
decessors. We have only to look back a few
years to discover striking instances of the
failure of these pretended reforms. When
Fernando Wood was the head of the city gov-
ernment Tammany labored for his overthrow, and
the republican organs of the city aided in the
work. The New York English Times then
declared that Mayor Wood's government "has
made these (the city) departments sought by
the most needy and unscrupulous of our par-
tisan politicians, and has led to the most flag-
rant abuses of public trust and the most cul-
pable waste of the public funds," and insisted
that "some reform of the government is im-
peratively demanded." The Tribune declared
its readiness to join hands with "all who
honestly try to render our municipal
rule less corrupt and oppressive than it now
is," and naively declared that such reform as
it then advocated, in common with its Tam-
many allies, would "secure the people from

robbery in the building of the new City Hall!"
Tammany came into power in combination
with its republican allies in the shape of me-
tropolitan commissions, and the present city
government is the lineal descendant and repre-
sentative of that "municipal reform." Our
citizens can judge for themselves whether the
change secured less "waste of the public
funds" and protected the people from "robbery
in the building of the new City Hall."

The politicians and partisan organs now
desire to take advantage of the popular de-
mand for a more economical, honest and
efficient city government, and to make a
new combination against the men they
then helped to power. If the people
who really desire reform, following the
practice of former years, leave the details
of its accomplishment to these men, they
will find themselves rescued from one
evil only to be involved in another of a yet
more deplorable character. The primaries
will be held; packed nominating conventions
will put into the field candidates for Senate,
Assembly and other positions of trust, accord-
ing as bargains may be made, and when the
day of election arrives the honest reformers
in casting their votes will find themselves
compelled to support men undeserving of
their confidence or to give up all hope of
changing the present order of things. This is
not what our citizens desire or expect. They
owe it to themselves to see that a movement
in which they are earnest and sincere shall
not be made use of by a set of unscrupulous
adventurers for their own purposes. The
singular and sudden striking of hands
between Comptroller Connolly and the
men who were but yesterday denouncing
him as a public robber bears a suspicious
appearance. The Herald cares nothing for
Tammany rings, Young Democracy rings,
Murphy rings, Fenton rings, Irish democratic
rings or rings of any kind. We are inde-
pendent of all political parties, factions and
cliques, and advocate now economy and hon-
esty in the administration of the city govern-
ment, joined with a broad and intelligent
enterprise, as we have advocated the same at
all times and under all circumstances. Where-
ever corruption exists we denounce it and
demand the punishment of the corruptionists,
as we have done for years in regard to the
new Court House and other jobs, when the
mouths of the partisan press have been filled
with bribes and pap or closed by expedi-
ency. Connolly has been officially ad-
judged unfaithful, and we demand his
removal from office without any patched
up compromise or pretended atonement.
Should Hall or Sweeney or any other public
officer be found guilty of similar delinquency
we shall in like manner insist upon his retire-
ment. We have no political ends to subserve
which render it desirable to make terms with
a corrupt Comptroller or with ward strikers
and bullies. In the name of the people and
as a fearless and independent public journal
we demand real reform, and as a first step in
this direction we call for the unconditional
removal of Connolly and all his friends and
abettors from the office in which, under his
rule, frauds have been committed "of the
character of highway robberies." We insist
that those who, for political expediency or for
the advancement of their own interests, desire
to make terms with a dishonest public official
shall no longer palm themselves off upon the
people as city reformers.

Can a Mob Rule New York?—What Is
Good and What Is Evil—Barnard Master
of the Situation.

There is nothing easier of solution than the
present complications in New York. When
in doubt as to what is expedient let us ask
what is right. There is no axiom in moral
philosophy more settled than this: that the
end never justifies the means. In the interest
of what is called reform and good government
we are asked to approve one of the most
flagrant usurpations of power ever known in
our municipal history. There is, of course, a
great mist of "reform" and "purity of the laws,"
and all manner of phantoms floating before
the minds of the people, and here and there
skipping in all directions some foolish Will-
o'-the-Wisp scheme or other which we are
called upon to follow as a new guiding star.
But, shunning these foolish diversions, let us
look the whole Tammany situation square in
the face, and see just what is right and what
is wrong.

Primarily, then, we have a government of
New York. Whatever may be said of it, or
of the character of the men who control it,
it is a government of the people—made by the
people, for the people. It is their will, and
our only recognized expression of free mun-
icipal authority. Over it presides the Mayor,
the chief executive officer,